2: Schaden--13 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 [648] Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indian of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general deprecatory; a neutral one is yvýpóra, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [825] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Buarque de Holanda, 1948, p. 248.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, 175 169 [773] [789] that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvy opé, the end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú draws the [361] karaí of the Tañigua /Tanygua/ (1850), the Oguahóva /Oguauóva/ (1859), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Itapevanga, near Itarirí, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

2: Schaden--62 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbyá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. fogaru/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, fig 5, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 411 177 [192] [178] Since the gun (mbokáí) has become known -- which, by the way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá yiá (an arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees), is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbyá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter, however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuco, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucos, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macucos" is used. One can see that the
• [125] acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

[127] [129]

/69 cont./

aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of marginality.

To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The restrictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn baby. The magic means that are put into practice during childhood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles). Such usage, observed among the Nandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbyá of Rio Branco). As we have seen earlier, the Nandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morning bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned. Among the Mbyá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with a bracelet of embira provided with a knot: I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously the reader will not fail to note the analogy with the "muçira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. -- Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral individuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to favor the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Nandéva, according to the information of Mbaçai de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

2: Schaden--87 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 S144 Guarani S144

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people: in this subgroup by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbyá the initative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a set of trial marriage: many men have a "companion" (tsairĩ kuĩ vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing [584] permission from his own parent. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boys mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl fr his permission, while the asks [585] the mother of the boy. Amongthe Mbyá of Xapecó, I was told [622] that the fandang officiates at th marriage, which is commemorated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /711/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits 591 first, by the patrilocality, and in the second place, by the absence of defined economic rôles. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to live its own house, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to see that the boy obtains his liberty [693] early, while the girl practicallyremains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early: among the Kayová and Mbyá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at abt 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbyá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová even fine 836 ● 838 severely the children of unmarried women and 839 adolescents.

2: Schaden--106 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible. For the Mbyá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva; it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's benefit. The Ñandéva from Azarthá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry: the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong." And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron implements. (Among the Mbyá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépoxí: that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the odjépoxí" are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Odjépoxí is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes odjépoxí: in the words of an informant from Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

Concerning the danger of the odjépoxí of the father, among the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tajépoxí (yaretáda /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the yaretádas. He remains living amidst the yaretádas, taking

2: Schaden--107 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/89 cont./

846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the aita, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
773 menstruating.
[880]
846 The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
178 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it
is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until
the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they
stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take
the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating
girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject
rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Mandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her
puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[882] leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal,"
odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other
human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the trans-
ference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous
change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová
maintain such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices
[609] that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
[304] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these
ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower
[178] lip. The Mandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[184] Nhéla do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances
that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element.
While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound
religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced
to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis,
in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 304 [184] [178] The Mbyá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor-sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice: he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] [824] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the fandereí. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjéhaká, [852] [278] and the wound is only treated with pessoa /Port. cuné/ oil (ytaúba) /96/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] [868] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of Pelão Vera of Tenfié. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Ixiramõne 881 [62] [84] [115] has explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series of recommendations or counsels (which he called "educação"). They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

2: Schaden--119 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayova

/97 cont./

881 Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told
• 825 me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a
[582] woman," that is, for marriage: whoever marries without having
624] the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars,
snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars.
881 Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case,
156 the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Mançal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/99/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to
621 constitute an organization of state type: in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the authority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-
[596] families, gathered in council, form a sort of informal senate, of
[623] consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority
624 based on norm institutions. In the groups more subject to influence
621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at
[649]

2: Schaden--145 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarini SM4

/115 cont./

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822 admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of Nanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

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[192] Ayvú properly means language: sometimes one also hears someone say ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual.
[191] The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man
774 the gift of language: thus the designation. It is an interesting
524 fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communica-
156 tion is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part
774 of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

The aŋýgua, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the heroic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal: it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would see the term temperament (what has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good impressionable fellow-villagers have the aŋýgua of a butterfly, a hummingbird,
[123]
[125]

2: Schaden--146 E-4,5 (1948-1956) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/116 cont./

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.825

or some other nice bird; bad persons, that of a venomous snake; violent ones, that of a wasp; indolent ones, that of a caterpillar (mando rovâ); roguish ones, that of a monkey. While the seat of the ñeẽ or ayvú is the chest; that of the atsýyguá is the lower part of the face, including the jaws, but particularly the bucal region. The similarity with this or that animal, which sometimes is believed to be found in the shape of the mouth of this or that fellow villager, is an expression of his atsýyguá (8).

8. /From p. 150 of the original source./ "On the other hand," writes Nimuendajú, "I know a young woman from the horde of the Oguauíva, called Potá; she is quick and a little mischievous, and it is considered proven that she is the bearer of the acyiguá of a sai. This is because once, when Potá was little, an old doctor-sorceress, highly competent in these matters, heard the characteristic whistle of that species of monkey coming from her neck, the seat of the acyiguá" (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 308). Such a doctrine concerning the seat of the atsýyguá, which is not in accordance with the data collected by me, perhaps agrees better with certain beliefs of the ancient Tupinambá.

[962] What a person eats also nourishes the atsýyguá. Thus the desire that sometimes comes over us to eat a certain dish -- sometimes fish, sometimes beef or pork, sometimes chicken -- is considered a manifestation of the animal soul.

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[.825]

Not only the ñeẽ or ayvú, which is given by Ñanderú and which after death returns to him, but also the atsýyguá "comes already at birth," according to the words of the Ñanderú Sobaretã, "but in the children it is still very small"; it only grows as gums (9).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

9. /From pp. 110-111 of the original source./ Poirá, although he opposes the theory of the

2: Schaden--148 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/116 cont./

774 828 755 early one morning (around four o'clock; he told me that this is the hour when the spirits usually come in contact with men), went to his house and "took away" the prayer from him. The next morning he already sharpened his hoe and went to work. In the process of "taking away" [756] [624] the bad prayer, the flanderú is helped by the yvyráídjá: the women strike the takmápú; the flanderú only gives the order to take the prayer away; then the spirits of the yvyráídjá take the bad spirit and send it where it came from. -- 774 828 The ayvú and the ayvúporÎvé send prayers too, but good ones. More will be said about the prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary to note the pure and simple identification of the "bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5 /see p. 140/.

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal): the atyýguá develop with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced 794 by the adults. Thus, there are atyýguá more or less developed: 795 those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most 822 dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into angaéry. The atyýguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted, [829] is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth: "when he dies, he becomes exactly that, 795 to wander over the ground." It is thus the angaéry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Angaéry ngwá yvýtúnyvá

/116 cont./
795 oó dyvý yvýkuárendápy. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10),

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mboré-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According [184] to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not [753] let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm; it [961] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can [755] be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex- 795 828 179 ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would perhaps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

/129 cont./

754 755 told me that the corpse is cut up with an ax before it is buried; then the author of the sorcery will also die.) To neutralize the countersorcery, the killer disinters the body or a piece of it, casting it into the river. The Indian Vicente, of the same village, explained the death of his wife to me, saying: "This son of mine saw a fellow countryman digging in the cemetery." The technique of countersorcery, as was explained to me by Capitão Alberto, is less macabre: One takes a wad of hair [115] [825] from the deceased and catches a snake, which is made to bite several times into the wad of hair; the snake is burned alive in a fire next to the grave and is buried with the deceased. If the author of the death is unable to disinter the corpse and throw it in the water, he will die, because "the snake is what is poisonous."

[114] [115] /130/ A singular ritual practice of countersorcery of the Kayová, which, meanwhile, I have not had the opportunity to witness either, was related to me by Marçal de Souza. When 754 the corpse of a person who fell victim to sorcery is lowered into 755 the grave, a lad chosen by the doctor-sorcerer brings a toad and 766 another one a poisonous snake. Then the doctor-sorcerer orders 825 cut two fine and long spits, which he runs through the body of the toad from the anus to the mouth and from side to side, forming a cross. Meanwhile the two lads act as though they were the victims of the thrusts with the spits: they go through contortions, they jump, they bite at each other, yell, pull the hair, pretend to be eating hot coals and other things that cause pain. Then the doctor-sorcerer takes the snake and makes it take several bites in the dead toad. The lads repeat the pantomime and "confess" to have been the authors of the sorcery that made a victim of the deceased. Then they repeat it while the doctor-sorcerer kills the snake with a stick and pronounces a sort of malediction, speaking to the dead animals: as you died, so will the author of the sorcery die. Finally the two dead animals are buried together with the human cadaver. Similia similibus curantur /like cures like/.

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
179 lore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[753] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
787 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

/157 cont./

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the solar hero gave each animal the task that would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock: "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

789 177

A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folklore on Guaraní culture is that of magical defense against pains and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental life of the Guaraní. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers. Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Ñandéva of the coast, has among the little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

789 177 824

7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatsaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Pires, the capiá-mirim" is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatsaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ú, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden apud Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatsaá.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[134] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of
291 native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most fre-
237 quently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
*178 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
881 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for
304 the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never
[825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *urucú*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
302

[134] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[120]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[121]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puširão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puširão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cãwĩ'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

[120] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[121] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cãwĩ'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba*, *A. totai*, *Cocos yatay*, *Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica*, *Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc.

The *Caingué* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[3]) is part of *Caingué* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the larvae in the decayed wood.

Hunting.—Because the *Caingué* prefer meat to any other food, their main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Caingué* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars.

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts.

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204).

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and many other European farm animals.

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Caingué* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Caingué* specialty.

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Caingué* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Caingué* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin grater—and washing the mass in water.

[3] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strelnichov.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Cainguá* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú.

At ceremonies, modern *Cainguá* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Cainguá* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Cainguá*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery.

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Cainguá* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824

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1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14

Guarani S114

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*136 the shore, though they lie on a green turf, where no man or dog ever trod, will return to the ship blackened with fleas. If this occurs in the green plain, what must we expect in the dry floors of an apartment, covered neither with brick, stone, nor board? In apartments of this kind have I dwelt seven years amongst the Abipones, during which time I had to contend with countless swarms of fleas. Do you enquire the remedy for fleas in America? There is but one, namely, patience. Columella, Kircher, and others, are indeed of opinion that these insects are not only driven away but destroyed by a decoction of odoriferous herbs scattered on the floor; and the Guaranies do certainly boil for this purpose a strong-scented herb, sprinkling the chamber with the water when boiling hot, and sweeping it once or twice. But if the fleas are destroyed by this means, I attribute it, not to the strong smell of the herbs, but to the water in which they are boiled, and to the mops by which they are swept away. Let the houses be cleared of dust and dogs, and rendered pervious to frequent winds; these are the best precautions against the smaller insects. Lice are never to be met with amongst the Abipones, except in the hair. The Spanish colonies abound in bugs, but I never beheld one in the

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